

REPORT
OF THE
PHILIPPINE DELEGATION
TO THE
CONFERENCE OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
MONT TREMBLANT, QUEBEC, CANADA
1942

R E P O R T
of the
PHILIPPINE DELEGATION
to the
CONFERENCE OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
held at Mont Tremblant, Quebec, Canada
December 4th to 14th, 1942

Submitted to
HIS EXCELLENCY MANUEL L. QUEZON
President of the Philippines

Confidential

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APPENDIX A

The Development of American-Philippine
Relations by J. M. Elizalde, Resident
Commissioner of the Philippines to the
United States

January 19, 1943

His Excellency,
Manuel L. Quezon,
President of the Philippines,
Shoreham Hotel,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Pursuant to your instructions, the Philippine Delegation, composed of the Honorable J. M. Elizalde, Chairman, the Honorable Francis Burton Harrison, Dr. Arturo B. Rotor, Mr. Sebastian Ugarte, and Mr. Urbano A. Zafra, attended the Eighth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, held at Mont Tremblant, Quebec, Canada, during the period from December 4 - 14, 1942, both dates inclusive.

The following report of the observations made by the members of the Delegation during the deliberations of the Institute is respectfully submitted to Your Excellency.

I. DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE

The conference was attended by approximately two hundred persons from twelve countries which are either situated on the Pacific Basin or have major interests in the Pacific area. Many of the delegates are recognized leaders in their respective countries and have held high government positions. The following were chairmen of the different delegations:

Australia

R. J. F. BOYER. Member of the Australian Broadcasting Commission since January, 1940. Director of the American Division of the Commonwealth Department of Information, 1941. President, Graziers' Federal Council of Australia. Member, Commonwealth Meat Commission. Australian Delegate to League of Nations Assembly, 1939.

Canada

EDGAR J. TARR. President, Monarch Life Assurance Company. Director, Bank of Canada. Honorary President, Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Chairman, Program Committee of the Mont Tremblant Conference.

China

SAO-KE ALFRED SZE. Acting Chairman, China Defense Supplies, Inc. Minister of Communications, 1912. Formerly Ambassador to London and Washington. Head of the Chinese Delegation to the Washington Conference, 1921-22. Chief Delegate to the Opium Conference. Chief Delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations, 1931.

India

SIR A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR, K. C. S. I. Member, Madras Legislative Council, 1920-26 and parliamentary secretary, 1920-23. Mayor, Corporation of Madras, 1928-1929. Member Council of State, 1929-30. Member and Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Indian Central Legislative Assembly, 1930-34. Member, Indian Round Table Conference, 1930, 1933. Member, Indian Tariff Board, 1935-36. Member India Council, London, 1936-39. Indian Delegate, Nine Power Conference, Brussels, 1937. Member, Imperial Economic Committee, London, 1936-39. Commerce Member, Government of India, 1939-42. Member, British War Cabinet and Pacific War Council, London, 1942.

Korea

YOUNGHILL KANG. Principal Economic Analyst, Board of Economic Warfare. Professor, Department of English, New York University (on leave of absence) and staff member, Metropolitan Museum of Art (on leave of absence). Formerly, Editorial staff member of Encyclopedia Britannica. Guggenheim Foundation Fellow on Creative Literature, 1933-35. Author: "The Grass Roof," "The Happy Grove", "East Goes West."

Netherlands-Netherlands Indies

RADEN LOEKMAN DJAJADININGRAT. Director of the Department of Education and Public Worship. Member of the Board for the Netherlands Indies, Surinam and Curacao in the United States. Held several positions at the Department of Education and Public Worship in Batavia. Elected Deputy for the Province of West Java.

Fighting French

PAUL RIVET. Formerly Professor at the Paris Museum and head of the "Musée de l'Homme" in Paris, 1928-40. Head of the Ethnological Institute of Colombia (Bogota).

New Zealand

WALTER NASH. New Zealand Minister to the United States, and New Zealand's Member of the Pacific War Council, Washington. Member of the New Zealand House of Representatives since 1929, of the Cabinet as Minister of Finance, since December, 1935, and of the War Cabinet since its formation in July, 1940.

Philippines

JOAQUIN M. ELIZALDE. Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States. Chairman, Elizalde & Co., Inc., industrialists and financiers. Member, Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs and Chairman of the Sub-committee on Finance, 1937. Philippine Delegate to the International Sugar Conference,

London, 1938-42. Major, Cavalry Reserve, Philippine Army. Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States since September 29, 1938. Member of the Cabinet, Commonwealth of the Philippines since 1941. Member of the War Cabinet, 1942.

Thailand

M. R. SENI PRAMOJ. Free Thai Minister to the United States.

Other distinguished delegates included Captain L. D. Ganmans, Member of the British Parliament; A. C. Jones, Labor Member of the British Parliament; Air Chief Marshall Longmore, Inspector General of the Royal Air Force until he retired in 1942; Owen Lattimore, Political Adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek; and Senator Elbert D. Thomas from Utah.

There were also several eminent economists, social and labor leaders who attended the Conference as "observers" for the International Labour Office, League of Nations, Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation.

II. THEME AND PLAN OF DISCUSSIONS

The main purpose of the Conference was to answer the following questions:

- (1) "What steps can jointly or severally be taken by the United Nations (particularly those with major interests in the Pacific area) to aid in the better prosecution of the war and in the establishment of conditions of racial, political and economic justice and welfare?"

- (2) "How far and by what means can the conclusions drawn from the discussions under point (1) be made the basis of a practical program for the United Nations during and after the war?"

In seeking answers to these questions, the Conference examined specific problems in a succession of round table discussions, arranged in three groups: Group I - General Round Tables; Group II - Regional Round Tables; and Group III - Topical Round Tables.

In addition to the regular round tables, there were three special round table discussions: (1) Special Round Table on the U.S.S.R.; (2) Special Round Table on North West North America; and (3) Special Round Table on Relief Problems in Southeast Asia.

The proceedings of each regular round table were kept by stenographers and became the basis of a report by a rapporteur to a plenary session called for this purpose at the end of each round table meeting. The proceedings of the special round tables were not reported.

To assist the delegates in their participation in the round table discussions, the Secretariat of the Institute had distributed pamphlets, documents and other literature prepared by experts. Moreover, the Institute had made available to the delegates its library which contained very comprehensive material on the Pacific Area.

Under the rules and regulations of the Institute, the sessions and round table discussions were conducted strictly in an informal and private manner. No conclusions or opinions were made on any specific questions or issues; in the reporting of the deliberations of the Conference, personal references were avoided; and no information was given to the press on any matters or subjects discussed at the Conference. These rules and regulations were adopted to protect delegates from any embarrassments in their respective countries.

III - OPENING SESSION

The Conference was formally opened at a plenary session in the afternoon of Friday, December 4, 1942

MR. JESSUP. Mr. Philip C. Jessup, chairman of the Conference and Chairman of the United States Delegation welcomed the delegates and spoke briefly on the main issues and problems before the Conference. He stressed the fact that the Conference was strictly an informal gathering of students in Pacific and International Affairs and that no press releases would be issued or resolutions passed on any of the questions discussed. He urged each delegate to participate freely in the round table discussions and thus contribute to an intelligent analysis and examination of war-time and post-war problems.

LORD HAILEY. Lord Hailey, chairman of the United Kingdom Delegation, delivered the keynote address of the

Convention.

Coming from an unofficial spokesman for the British Empire, representing perhaps the popular consensus of sentiment among the English people and undoubtedly the views of the British Government, Lord Hailey's statement was received with great interest. It provided the leads to the discussions that followed in the Round Tables. Here are the highlights of his address.

The necessity of attaining collective security as a prerequisite to the attainment of the Four Freedoms was stressed at the outset by Lord Hailey, saying, "Without it the promise of freedom can only be illusory."

Referring to China, Lord Hailey stated that the United States and the United Kingdom had agreed to give up completely without reservation all their extra-territorial rights in China and that the large British investments there would not be an impediment to the abolition of extra-territoriality.

The future status of Hongkong should, in the opinion of Lord Hailey, depend on the general settlement to be made between China and the members of the Pacific group. On this subject he said:

"In my view, the future of Hongkong must depend on the general settlement to be made between China and the members of the Pacific group, to whom I shall afterwards refer, as to the provisions of key points to be maintained for purposes of security and for the continuance of transit trade. There should be no disposition on the part of the United Kingdom to allow vested interests to stand in the way of any political disposition of Hongkong which a due discharge of its functions in this respect may indicate."

Lord Hailey considered the problem of the Chinese emigration as a matter for settlement by the combined nations, saying as follows:

"Restoration of peace to China will doubtless restore that upward surge of population figures which marked her pre-war history. The problem of emigration will reassert itself not only in regard to Mongolia and Manchuria, but in regard to a large number of overseas areas, both sovereign and dependencies. It is not only the sovereign states such as the United States and the British Dominions which have a nationalistic outlook in this question. The people of Burma, Malaya, the Netherlands Indies and the Philippines all have their nationalistic or racial outlook on it. They view, and are entitled to view, the matter with concern. Here again is a matter which it will, perhaps, be difficult to leave to individual action, and which demands the combined counsels and the guidance of some intermediate authority."

Turning to Japan, Lord Hailey stated that Japan must surrender the territory she had seized since about 1930 onwards. However, he said that neither the neighboring countries nor the rest of the world could afford to forego the consumer market represented by the seventy-eight million Japanese who should be allowed to exist without any serious reduction in their standard of living. As a safeguard against placing Japan in the same undeserved position of advantage as Germany held at the end of the last war, when she organized her industries at the expense of the other countries, thrown out of industrial gear by the war, Lord Hailey said:

proposed that part of Japan's industrial equipment be handed over to China or to some of her neighbors. To wean her back to the family of nations, Lord Hailey believed that Japan should have full access for her light industries to the world markets in accordance with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and Article VII of the Lend-Lease Agreement. But this, as Lord Hailey pointed out, would involve sacrifice of the British quota system and the reduction of tariffs in the British Dominions and in the United States.

In discussing the problems of Southeastern Asia, Lord Hailey made a very significant proposal which was considered by most delegates as constructive and liberal in the light of past British colonial policy. He began with the statement that post-war settlement must see the liberation of the peoples in Southeast Asia and that, if circumstances required some protection and tutelage in the meantime, their liberation should be guaranteed at a determined date.

On this point, Lord Hailey said:

"It is wrong that the existence of control in the hands of the ruling power should enable it to claim a privileged position for its own nationals at the expense either of the people of a dependency or of those of the outside world. It is maintained in consequence that the post-war settlement must see the liberation of dependent peoples from the control exercised over them. If circumstances require that some protection and tutelage should be given them until they can stand by themselves, it must be accompanied by a guarantee of their liberation at a determined date, and safeguarded by the supervision of some organization, international or otherwise, which will see that the protecting power performs its obligation both to the people ruled and to the civilized world at large."

On the question of the preparation of certain dependencies of the British Empire for self-government, Lord Hailey referred to the Philippines as an exceptional case, in the following vein:

"It was very seldom indeed that any of those dependent units has presented a basis on which any system of self-government could be erected. America found such a basis in the Philippines; but every student of Colonial history acknowledges that this was an exceptional experience. We have sought, therefore, to promote a graded education in self-government by the triple process of establishing institutions of local self-government by the progressive substitution of natives of the country for the European element in the official administration, and by the creation of legislatures which at the outset are only of a representative character, but are given increasing responsibility as their capacity develops."

He emphasized the fact that there is today a new outlook in Great Britain on the relations of the dependencies to the British Empire and that this new outlook has for its ultimate objective the partnership between the mother country and the dependency. Here are his words:

"There is now in Great Britain a general acceptance given to a new outlook on this aspect of our relations with the Dependencies. Where the issue of political status arises, the ruling conception must be that of partnership. If at the outset the relationship is that of senior and junior partners, that is a situation which can and must adjust itself as the experience and capacity of the junior partner grows."

To give effect to his proposal for self-government for the dependencies, Lord Hailey suggested the creation of a Council for the Pacific Zone, the functions and composition of which he explained in the following words:

"I suggest that there should be created a Council for the Pacific Zone, consisting of the representatives of the sovereign powers concerned. It would have a double function. It would, in the first place, be the local agency of whatever organization may be established by the United Powers for safeguarding the peace of Asia in common with other parts of the world. The preservation of peace demands, as I have already observed, not merely the provision of air, naval and military forces, but of a wide range of civil activities ancillary to them. These civil activities would be the direct charge of the Pacific Zone Council.

"Its second function would be to secure, by joint consultation, and by cooperative action, a common policy, so far as may be, in the economic development and of the tariff and customs arrangements within this Zone. It would maintain a technical staff, available for advising the administrations concerned, on health, agriculture, economic or cultural problems. It would be the agency through which areas unable to finance their own development, would obtain the assistance required. It would receive regular reports from the different national administrations in the area, and be empowered to require information and explanation from them. It

would receive regular reports from the different national administrations in the area, and be empowered to require information and explanation from them. It would finally - and I desire to emphasize this point - be charged with the periodic review of the progress made in the promotion of self-governing institutions in the Dependencies, and in the improvement of their standard of living."

DR. SZE . Following Lord Hailey's address, Dr.

Sze, speaking on behalf of China, expressed the hope that the post-war settlement would include: (1) abolition of the "unequal treaties" imposed upon China; (2) return of territories and possessions taken from China; (3) security against foreign aggression; and (4) end of discrimination against Chinese nationals in foreign countries.

On the abolition of the "Unequal Treaties" Dr. Sze said:

"In the forefront of China's expectation is the determination that she shall henceforth be completely freed from those limitations upon the full and free exercise of her sovereign rights which, in the past, have been imposed upon her by what are known as the "Unequal Treaties." These treaties, which include a great variety of agreements or alleged agreements, have been termed "unequal," because they have created rights and interests upon the part of other nations within China without reciprocal rights and interests accruing to China in those other nations. Conspicuous among the foreign rights in China of which I speak are the extraterritorial or jurisdictional rights."

Dr. Sze then went on to say that, because of her weakness, China had lost control of some of her territories and therefore, "it is but reasonable and just that when the present war is victoriously ended, she should expect the return of such of her possessions as have been taken from her by the threat of force."

Notwithstanding China's experiences with the League of Nations, Dr. Sze believed China would support all measures for the creation of a new world order as a means of attaining security against foreign aggression, saying:

"China's experiences with the League of Nations have not been uniformly happy, but she is aware that the failures of the League in the field of international political relations have been due not so much to the structure of the League as to the unwillingness of its dominant Members to subordinate what appeared to them to be their immediate national interests to the greater interest of world order. It is believed by China that, when the present war is over, the victorious United Nations will have a fuller realization than they have previously had that an international organization must be established which will have adequate authority and power for the maintenance of world peace and justice."

Dr. Sze touched upon the treatment of Chinese nationals in foreign countries with these words:

"Another matter of deep concern to our people is the treatment of the many Chinese residing and doing business in foreign countries and in the various territories in the Southeastern Pacific. China is deeply solicitous for the welfare of these people, and this concern is increased because of the great and loyal support the nation has received from them for over five long years in which she has been fighting Japan. It is certain then in the post-war years to come that China will make every effort to end any discrimination in any part of the world against her nationals on account of their race. In short, while not asking for any special favors for them, China will ask that they be treated by other powers on as favorable terms as are other resident or traveling aliens. It is believed that this expectation is in conformity with the general principle of equality of treatment of all nations."

Stating that the people of China were anxious to see the immediate effectuation of the principles of the Atlantic Charter, Dr. Sze closed his remarks in the following vein:

"There is a widespread desire in China to see put into practice at an early date some of these ideas and ideals, inherent in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, before there is a chance for them to become cold. For example, there is a proposal for the formation of an Executive Council of the United Nations. It is hoped that such a body will bring about greater unification and closer cooperation in the formulation of a more effective war strategy, a clearer understanding of war aims and a more regular exchange of views on the post-war world for which we are fighting and working. It is further hoped that such a body may also help to evolve an international instrument capable of dispensing justice and enforcing law and order in the post-war world."

COMMISSIONER ELIZALDE. On behalf of the Philippines, the Honorable J. M. Elizalde, Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States, submitted a statement entitled "Development of American-Philippine Relations" which was distributed to the delegates on the opening day of the Conference. Commissioner Elizalde concluded his statement with the following words:

"As I said before, the Independence Act passed in 1934 provides for the absolute and complete independence of the Philippines not later than July 4th, 1946. When the present war started, we were in the process of an economic adjustment intended to prepare us for the time when our preferential trade status with the United States would cease, and our foreign commerce would become more extended.

"With the occupation of our country, all these plans were disrupted. We have been fortunate, however, in one point, and that is that Providence made possible the departure of President Quezon and his War Cabinet from the Philippines, thus permitting

establishment of his Government in the United States to carry on the functions of our Government from Washington. Its most important duty today, however, is to continue the fight and to assure the prompt liberation of our country from the hands of the invader, at the earliest practicable time.

"When this has been attained and our liberty has been established, our Government will cooperate with other peoples of the world, and particularly with the peoples of the Pacific, in the support of measures upon which future world relations must be founded.

"We expect, therefore, to take full part in such councils as may be held to attain this purpose and expect also our country's representation will be commensurate both with our status and with our contribution to this world struggle."

The members of the Philippine delegation reiterated the above statements at every opportunity in the round tables as well as in the plenary sessions. It was gratifying to note the sympathetic reaction of the delegates to this Philippine attitude.

The Opening Session was followed by a dinner given by the Canadian Delegation, at which all the Chairmen of the various delegations, including Commissioner Elizalde, were requested to give brief remarks.

IV- GROUP I ROUND TABLES

On the following day, Saturday, December 5, the

delegates were divided into four round tables, each of which was given for discussion a set of nine questions on general war-time and post-war issues and problems. The purpose of these preliminary discussions was to give emphasis to those specific issues or questions which should be given further consideration in the succeeding round table discussions.

The adequacy of existing United Nations machinery was the first question considered. It was brought out that the existing machinery consisted of the following:

(A) Pacific War Council. This is composed of the United States, United Kingdom, China, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the Netherlands and the Philippine Commonwealth. It was pointed out that India, while a member of the Pacific War Council which sits in London, was not a member of the Pacific War Council which sits in Washington, and which, to all intents, had superseded the London body. India, however, was frequently consulted by the Council through its representative in Washington. It was also pointed out that the U.S.S.R., while not a member of the Council, was also consulted by it.

(B) Munitions Assignments Board, the Combined Production and Resources Board, Combined Shipping Allocation Board, Combined Food Board, Combined Raw Materials Board.

All five of these agencies were described as being essentially British-American organizations. However, members of the United Nations were called upon individually when matters of specific concern to them arose.

(C) Combined Chiefs of Staffs. This body, again primarily a British and American organization, holds regular meetings in Washington. Other members of the United Nations are not directly represented but are consulted through their representatives in Washington. The operational breakdown of this body into several theatres of war, such as South East Pacific, North West Pacific, South Pacific, and South West Pacific, is well known.

(D) Various Bodies for Information. It was indicated that there was now effective coordination of information between United States and Great Britain and that serious efforts were under way to secure the same coordination between the United States and China. Coordination among other members of the United Nations was presumably undeveloped.

(E) Diplomatic Channels. The members of the British Commonwealth, maintained their own special Commonwealth channels which were part of the existing United Nations machinery for carrying out the war in the Pacific.

Criticisms were heard on these bodies, namely:

(1) the unsatisfactory functioning of the Lend-Lease machinery as far as India was concerned and here a specific example was cited of a high-power short wave radio station which India had for more than two years been requesting from the United States and with regard to which no deliveries had yet been made; (2) the problems arising from the fact that no United Nations body is located in or near the actual theatre of military operations in the Pacific war and that, further, the Pacific Council and other parts of the machinery are not sufficiently responsive to immediate needs; and (3) the delegate illustrated the latter point by indicating the well known ignorance existing in the United States with respect to India and the similar situation in India with respect to the United States.

The following suggestions were offered to correct the above difficulties: (1) establishment of an Allied War Council as a subsidiary of the Pacific War Council in or near India; (2) a more effective Lend-Lease aid; and (3) coordination of information and propaganda.

Atlantic Charter

Of all the questions presented before the conference that of the application of the Atlantic Charter provoked the most heated discussion, not only in these round tables but also in the succeeding ones and even in the final session. Members of the Canadian, Australian, New Zealand and the United States delegations were most vocal in pressing the question to the British delegates of whether the Atlantic Charter means the same thing to the British as it did to the people in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States. Typical of the questions asked were: Does the British Government believe that the Atlantic Charter applies to all people? Do the British interpret it as applying only to the European theatre of the war and not to the people of Asia? Have the various Churchill statements indicated serious qualifications? Did the speech made by the leader of the British delegation at the opening of this Conference indicate an attitude on his part and on the part of the other members of the delegation similar to that alleged to be held by Mr. Churchill?

One Churchill statement referred to was that he made three months after the signing of the Atlantic Charter in the House of Commons when he said:

"At the Atlantic meeting we had in mind primarily the restoration of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the States and Nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke, and the principles governing any alteration in the territorial boundaries which may have to be made. So that is quite a separate problem from the progressive evolution of the

self-governing institutions in the regions and peoples which owe allegiance to the British Crown."

In another statement, Prime Minister Churchill referred to this document in the following vein:

"The joint declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India, Burma, or other parts of the British Empire. We are pledged by the declaration of August, 1940, to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth with ourselves, subject, of course, to the fulfillment of obligations arising from our long connection with India and our responsibilities to its many free races and interests."

In addition to these statements, Churchill recently was quoted as saying at the Mansion House in London to the effect that he had not become the Prime Minister of the Empire to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire and that "what we have we hold."

Under Secretary of State Wells, on the other hand, referred to the Atlantic Charter with these words: "The principles of the Atlantic Charter must be guaranteed to the world as a whole -- in all oceans and in all continents."

One of the Indian delegates stated that Mr. Churchill is a master of the English language and, if he had wanted to, he could have used such simple words in interpreting the Atlantic Charter as to leave no doubt about what he meant.

However, the British group insisted that the Atlantic Charter is world wide in its application without

any geographic limit and that there are no British reservations whatsoever with regard to its applicability and that the principles of the Atlantic Charter refer specifically to India and Burma. Moreover, they said that public opinion in the House of Commons and in Great Britain as a whole is irrevocably committed to the application of the Charter to India and Burma after the war.

Third Party Control and Other Subjects

Out of the discussion on the applicability of the Atlantic Charter, came a proposal for a third party administration of peoples still unprepared to govern themselves. The proposal consisted of either one of two categories:

- (1) A Commission appointed by the United Nations to oversee the administration of the colonies by their present rulers; or
- (2) An International Body to which the sovereignty of the present rulers is entrusted for the purpose of preparing the colonies for self-government.

On the question of propaganda, it was pointed out that lack of candor and information leads to rumors which are helpful to the enemy and damaging to the morale of the people in the United Nations. It was deplored that those who know are not consulted. The broadcasts to The Netherlands Indies were referred to as example of this, whereby the broadcasts were made in low class Javanese language when those who owned radios belong to the high class Javanese and therefore did not understand the radio dialect.

There was some discussion on the effects of the developments in the Pacific War upon race relations in the Pacific countries. It was anticipated that the

principle of restriction of immigration would be accepted by all parties but applied without racial distinction.

The discussions in this Group I Round Table ended with the consideration of the post-war mutual economic relations of the countries of the Pacific. It was recognized that the end of the war will find all the nations in a state of almost hopeless economic unbalance and that the adjustment must be made through some international organizations or machinery.

V - GROUP II REGIONAL ROUND TABLES

Group II was divided into five regional round tables: (A) China, including "occupied" China, Manchuria, and Hongkong; (B) Japan, including Korea, Formosa and the Mandated Islands; (C) India; (D) Southeast Asia, including the Netherlands Indies, Philippines, Indo-China, Thailand, Burma, British Malaya and British Borneo; and (E) Other United Nations, including the United States, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Netherlands, Fighting France and Mexico. Three days, December 6, 7, and 8, were allotted to each regional round table for the discussion of its own set of questions.

A. CHINA.

The outstanding fact repeatedly emphasized in this round table was the "desperate" military and economic position of China today which, the members deplored, was not given the proper attention it deserved. For this

latter fact the natural preoccupation of the western powers with the menace of Nazi Germany was responsible. It was repeatedly made clear by Chinese speakers that they did not wish to advocate the merits of the China front against any other, but rather to expound its proper position in global strategy.

In general, it was agreed that China offered the best base for counter attack against Japan, possessing as she did a war-hardened army of three millions, and offering the possibility of securing land, air and sea bases from which blows might be struck at the very heart of Japan. However, use of China as such at present is considered gravely reduced as a result of the loss of Burma. Consequently, the only really effective means of supplying China would be to reopen the Burma Road. In the light of this discussion it was felt that the recapture of Burma should rank high in the list of military priorities, some speakers placing it second in importance to the North African campaign.

Repeatedly the round table was reminded of the danger of letting Japan make her dispositions unchecked while the western powers disposed of unfinished business in Europe. It was felt most important to keep Japan "off balance" so that she might not consolidate her present political or military position: otherwise, she would be able to consolidate her gains and thereby strengthen her war effort to such an extent that she

to such an extent that she might prolong the war in the Pacific indefinitely.

It was expressed by the Chinese delegation, in no uncertain terms, that the one marked difficulty which prevented the China front from being seen in its true perspective was the lack of adequate machinery for co-ordinating the war effort on all fronts. At present China had no representation on the numerous boards in Washington for allocating raw materials, shipping and munitions. These remained of an Anglo American character. It was remarked that to some officials in Washington aid to China appeared to be placed on a relief and humanitarian basis rather than for sound military reasons. The combined Chiefs of Staff Committee, the real center of Allied strategy, remained Anglo-American in composition. It meets about once a month with the military, naval and air missions of some other United Nations for the purpose of presenting information rather than for discussion. Such meetings were unsatisfactory both from their unwieldy nature and from their technique. Because of these conditions a feeling of disappointment and uncertainty was being created in Chinese circles which, if unchecked, might tend to destroy mutual confidence. It was hard for a Chinese soldier who had for five years vainly scanned the skies for ten planes to give him some protection to hear of a thousand-plane raid upon Cologne and other Axis cities in Europe. To remedy these difficulties, it was suggested that a

a United Nations Council consisting of the United States, the United Kingdom, Soviet Russia and China, be formed to draw up war plans and to allocate supplies on a global basis. One stumbling block to this proposal is the fact that Soviet Russia has definitely stated that she will not participate in any act of commission or omission that could be construed as violating the terms of her neutrality with Japan.

Not only is China facing a difficult situation on the battlefield but also on the home front. Although Chinese nationalism had rapidly increased during the war and morale remained high, economic difficulties were rapidly increasing until there was a real danger of what has been called in China "hyper-inflation." The lack of goods and the expansion of currency had forced her into a period of inflation, with note circulation increased fifteen times while prices had risen sixty times. In these circumstances the intellectual, the civil servant and the professional man suffered most. As an instance, rice in pre-war China used to cost \$5 or \$6 a picul: the price was now \$600 in Chungking and from \$800 to \$1,000 in Shanghai.

Faced by these desperate difficulties on the military and economic front it was hard for China to consider in detail post-war policies of reconstruction. One thing was certain. The Chinese Government was determined never again to be dependent upon a Burma

road for its armaments. It therefore planned in the post-war period to establish heavy industries for munitions purposes in the interior. For their creation it would require both domestic and foreign capital, always provided that no attempt was made to infringe on Chinese sovereignty. In reconstructing China the Government expected to receive as war indemnity the industrial plant controlled by Japan in Manchuria and elsewhere.

In the political sphere of post-war reconstruction, China was prepared to enter into any effective system of collective security, whether universal or regional, despite her disillusioning experience with the League of Nations. But, above all, China expected adequate recognition of her strength and importance in the Far East.

B. JAPAN.

In this round table, the first part of the discussions centered on the prosecution of the war against Japan. In the field of political warfare, the effectiveness of propaganda, not only to the people in Japan proper but also to the peoples in occupied areas was recognized. While there was some skepticism of any breakdown of Japanese morale, in advance of the collapse of the Japanese Army, it was believed that the United Nations should do everything they can to soften up the Japanese, to confuse them, to undermine their confidence

in the success of Japanese arms by telling the truth about Japan's defeats, to appeal to war weariness and stimulate the hope of their decent treatment following a United Nations victory. It was suggested that a United Nations Board be created to unify and coordinate a political warfare and to formulate a positive policy regarding the treatment of a defeated Japan and the rehabilitation of the conquered peoples.

Attention was called to a grave problem which has arisen with respect to the treatment of Japanese in the United States and in Canada. It was pointed out that in the United States Japanese nationals have been evacuated from California and sent to eastern states, notwithstanding the fact that these Japanese are American citizens. It was also pointed out that in Canada, Canadian nationals of Japanese birth, who were previously allowed to volunteer into a separate unit, had been disbanded and that a movement is now being made to repatriate all Japanese in Canada after the war.

It was recognized that any discrimination against one minority is potentially a threat to all minorities and the treatment meted to the Japanese would provide a precedent for all minorities and therefore give cause for vengeance and retaliation in their countries of origin. Moreover, such a discriminatory action against the Japanese in the United States and in Canada contributes powerful propaganda to their own people and the peoples

in Southeast Asia. The Japanese will no doubt distort the record and charge the Western Powers with racial prejudice and persecution.

As a political gesture, the Chinese and Korean delegates suggested that the Korean independence movement be immediately recognized.

The round table then went into the question of economic warfare. It was felt that for the past five years Japanese economy has been under terrific strain and that Japan is undoubtedly suffering from serious shortages of railway equipment, of clothing, of many minerals, of machine tools, and, above all, of shipping. It was believed that Japan is very vulnerable in her shipping and that, at the rate her ships are being sunk, she will find herself unable to supply her distant outposts and to bring into Japan the raw materials from the occupied areas. It was therefore thought important that concentration in the destruction of her shipping be given serious consideration by Allied strategy both for its military and economic effect upon the Japanese war effort.

The question of unified command came up again in connection with the prosecution of the war against Japan but there was general acceptance of the view that the military necessities of a global war required a division of command in the field. Senator Thomas of Utah suggested that, instead of manicuring her tentacles, a direct blow should be aimed at her very heart - at Tokio, Osaka, Kobe and other military and industrial centers.

The members of this round table felt that Japan must never again be allowed to become a military threat to the world. It was thought advisable for moral effect that, when the time comes for a military occupation of Japan, the forces of occupation should include the native army units of the various occupied areas so that the people in those countries should realize that they have conquered the Japanese army and actually occupied their territory.

As to the disposition of the territories to be forcibly acquired, the round table believed these should be given up by her. A British delegate proposed that the United States should take over the mandate of Korea but this proposal met with considerable opposition by the American, Chinese and Korean delegates. The American objection was based on three points:

1. It would be a difficult assignment technically for the United States;
2. It would be regarded as an extremely retrogressive step, as it would appear as if we were reverting to straight imperialism and the colonies were being parcelled among the victors; and
3. It would be inconsistent with American war aims and independence for Korea should only be supplemented by an international guarantee and aid in rebuilding Korea's national life, if she requested such aid.

However, while they took the above positive position

with respect to Korea, the American delegates took a rather different view with regard to the Japanese mandated islands in the Pacific. They indicated that for American security and for the development of air transport and communications there would be strong influence in the United States for a strong nationalistic and aggressive policy as to the disposition of these islands after the war.

As regards Manchuria, there was general agreement that it should be returned to China but as to Formosa, the Chinese demand for its return to China was not received with enthusiasm. It was felt in some quarters that Formosa might be a strategic base for the United Nations to carry out its program of collective security and therefore Formosa might be internationalized, so to speak. But this theory was rejected by the Chinese delegates on the ground that any use of Formosa after it has been returned to China should be a matter for negotiation with the Chinese government.

Having been assured of the impossibility of recurrence of Japanese aggression in the future, the round table felt that the Japanese people should be allowed natural development and should be won over to cooperate in the maintenance of a better world.

C. INDIA.

Of all the round table discussions, that on India took up the liveliest and most controversial question. Since the opening of the Conference, India's relation

with Great Britain had been the uppermost subject in the minds of most of the delegates. In American quarters it was felt that the problem of India during the war emergency no longer concerns only Great Britain and India but vitally affects the whole war effort and therefore should be settled immediately in order to secure the utmost cooperation of the Indian people for the effective prosecution of the war.

The round table discussion centered on the proposal made by the leading member of the Indian Delegation which consisted of three steps, as follows:

(1) The first step would be to Indianize the Executive Council. At present the Council of eleven members has an Indian majority, but three of the portfolios, Finance, Home Affairs, and Communications, are still held by Britishers. While the Viceroy still retains veto powers, the Executive Council in reality conducts the government of India.

(2) The second step would be for the Executive Council, once Indianized, to form itself into an Exploratory Commission together with other Indian leaders representing the points of view of the various political parties in India. It was pointed out that Ghandi, who dominates the Congress party, would probably decline to nominate a representative to the Commission, but in that event the Executive Council could invite distinguished individuals or ex-members of the Congress, such as Rajagepachri and Maushi.

(3) The third step is for the Exploratory Commission to study all the questions requiring consideration in framing a new constitution. In this task an allied advisory committee may be established to advise the Exploratory Commission.

The Indian delegate stated that the Exploratory Commission could, under the above procedure, be able to examine and adjust the various differences among the parties and find a basis for settlement acceptable by all groups. In this connection it was pointed out that the three main conflicting ideas to be adjusted in the Exploratory Commission would be: (1) the Moslem demand for prior assurance on the right of self determination (2) the Hindu Mahasaba demand for prior assurance of a unified India; and (3) the probable Congress demand that the Commission's recommendations be binding and that Congress should have a majority of votes.

There were at first some expressions of doubt as to the practical value of the proposal. American and Canadian delegates believed that a formal mediation or arbitration by the United Nations would be more desirable. Such a mediation or arbitration board could urge Congress leaders to suspend civil disobedience in return for a release of Congress leaders from restraint and for some measure of self government. But the Indian delegate replied that this would create a belief that the arbitration body was really for the purpose of appeasing Congress and would immediately arouse the hostility of the Moslem and other

minorities which already feel that the United States and China have an undue partiality for the Congress party. To this the American, Canadian and Chinese delegates replied that they were primarily concerned about breaking the present deadlock and finding a way to restore the possibility of cooperation in India.

After a lengthy discussion which further involved the already much discussed subject of the applicability of the Atlantic Charter to India, the round table finally felt that the plan offered perhaps at least one means of starting the process of resolving the present deadlock.

The round table then took up other problems which had already been covered by the other round tables.

D. SOUTHEAST ASIA.

The heart of the discussions in this round table naturally centered on the political status, together with its related questions of social and economic problems, of the various countries composing the vast and rich region of Southeast Asia. Some of the delegates felt the necessity of a far more advanced statement of war aims than heretofore made by the colonial powers with respect to the granting of universal self government for the peoples in this area. There were others, however, who believed that it was impossible to speak with assurance of far reaching changes in the political relations that now govern a large part of the countries in this region unless there was some measure of collective security.

Philippines: The round table took cognizance of the Independence Law and the statement made by the President of the United States on December 28, 1941: "I give to the people of the Philippines my solemn pledge that their freedom will be redeemed and their independence established and protected."

Thailand: The round table assumed that its independence will be regained after the war.

Burma: The opinion was expressed that this country was so far on the road to self-government that it offered no real problem.

The Netherlands East Indies: The Dutch and Javanese delegates revealed the plan which was later disclosed in Queen Wilhelmina's speech for political reorganization of the Netherlands Kingdom according to which the Indies would attain full and equal partnership with the Netherlands after the war. The pertinent portion of the radio address of Queen Wilhelmina on December 7, 1942 is as follows:

"I am convinced, and history as well as reports from occupied territories confirm me in this, that after the war it will be possible to reconstruct the Kingdom on a solid foundation of complete partnership which will mean consummation of all that has been developed in the past.

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"War years have proved that both peoples possess will and ability for harmonious and voluntary cooperation. Political unity, which rests on this foundation, moves far towards realization of the purpose for which the United Nations are fighting, as it has been embodied, for instance, in the Atlantic Charter, with which we could instantly agree because it contains our own conception of freedom and justice, for which we have sacrificed blood and possession in the course of our history.

"I visualize, without anticipating recommendations of the future Conference, that they will be directed towards a Commonwealth in which the Netherlands, Indonesia, Surinam and Curacao will participate, with complete self-reliance and freedom of conduct for each part regarding its internal affairs but with readiness to render mutual assistance.

"It is my opinion that such a combination of independence and collaboration can give the Kingdom and its parts strength to carry fully their responsibility both internally and externally. This would leave no room for discrimination according to race or nationality; only ability of individual citizens and needs of various groups of the population will determine policy of government."

Notwithstanding the acknowledgement of the plan above referred to, the round table proceeded with the discussion of the colonial policy of the ruling powers toward French Indo-China, North Borneo, the Netherlands Indies and Portugal-Timor. A synthesis the view of the members in this round table may be stated as follows: (1) that the basic object of policy in these areas should be to secure at the earliest possible moment conditions which will permit self-government for the peoples concerned. There should be general recognition in the degree of racial and national homogeneity of the different areas, differences in the levels of cultural development and differences in economic structure so that while some areas may be ready for complete self-government considerably in advance, others may not be so prepared and require a longer period for preparation. (2) that colonial powers were not only accountable as trustees toward the colonial areas but also owed a moral obligation towards the rest of the world for their stewardship. (3) to check

such stewardship there should be an "intermediate authority," "international supervision," or a "third party interest." Such international authority should include not only the colonial powers directly concerned but also representatives of the indigenous peoples and in addition, representatives of independent powers as the United States, China and the U.S.S.R. Whether or not this international body should share the power and responsibility with the colonial power for the security and economic development of the areas concerned, the feeling of the round table was that the colonial powers should and would be prepared to grant wider than merely advisory powers to the international authority, provided such authority would share responsibility. It was stressed that such assurances are essential for it would be just as unreasonable for the colonial powers to determine alone the development and emancipation of the colonies as it would be unreasonable for the non-colonial powers to determine the development of such colonies on the basis of the state of public opinion in the non-colonial powers, as for instance, in the United States.

The round table was strongly of the opinion that the international authorities should be set up at once without awaiting the termination of hostilities. If the great powers, and particularly the United States, are unwilling to share in the responsibility for the security and economic development of the colonial areas, then such body should be endowed mainly with advisory and consultative functions.

The round table then went into the discussion of the economic problems and the general feeling was that these will be largely dependent upon the willingness of the great powers, particularly the United States, in assuming their responsibilities in a system of security and economic co-operation, not only in Southeast Asia, but in other parts of the world.

E. OTHER UNITED NATIONS.

This round table devoted considerable time to the discussion of the relations between the United States and the Pacific countries. A synthesis of the expressions of the members of this round table or the present American relationship with each of the countries in the Pacific is summarized below.

United States Relations with China. It was indicated that the United States had traditionally supported a strong and unified China and this policy was recently implemented by the relinquishment of American extra-territorial rights in China and the universal feeling in the United States that other inequalities against China would be eventually removed. It was, moreover, indicated that Chinese-American relations were further implemented by the Atlantic Charter, the declaration of the United Nations and the Lend-Lease Act. It was also pointed out that the United States was very much concerned in the reopening of the Burma Road which is uppermost in the minds of the Chinese.

United States Relations with the Soviet Union

American relations with Russia are said to be in a state of flux and unpredictability. While there had been admiration for the magnificent war effort of the Russian Army and citizenry, there has been still a considerable uncertainty in regard to the future policies of the Soviet Union. It was pointed out, however, that Russia after the war undoubtedly would be occupied with internal reconstruction and therefore would not bother about Communistic propaganda in other countries so that it was expected that American-Russian relations in the future would improve because of the mutual interest in the defeat of the common enemy, mutual concern for human welfare and common provision for security in the future.

United States Relations with Australia. It was pointed out that American-Australian relations have been very satisfactory. The presence of American troops in Australia has created good will for the United States. With the peculiar geographical position in which Australia finds herself, there has been a greater realization that the future of Australia demands closer political and economic relations with the peoples of Asia.

United States Relations with New Zealand. With the outbreak of the war, New Zealand, like Australia, has improved her relations with the United States. It was pointed out that New Zealand has endeavored to maintain high

standards of living among its population and has had liberal trade policies, having maintained the lowest tariff in the world. It was pointed out that while the war has brought closer cooperation with the United States, no one has given aid to New Zealand greater than that by Great Britain.

United States Relations with Canada. United States relations with Canada have been most cordial before and during the war; trade and cultural intercourse have been very close. The unfortified boundary between the two countries has been referred to as "an object lesson for the whole world." Despite this close relationship, however, the idea of possible annexation of Canada by the United States has been generally regarded with amusement. It was pointed out that Canada's contribution to the war effort has been extensive and that Canadian soldiers are now found in every theatre of the war, including the Aleutians, where they are serving under United States command.

United States Relations with India. United States relations with India have been increased in scope during the past year. The presence of American troops in India has not raised any serious problems and their relations with ^{the} Indian people have been good; however, the attitude shown toward colored troops in the American forces has been a source of perplexity as regards American attitudes on racial issues. There is in India a feeling that the Lend-Lease aid has been somewhat inadequate. At the same

time, the Indian people recognize the warm sympathy of the American people with their national aspirations. India expects that after the war she would have the status of at least equal to that of the dominions and that as such India would welcome reciprocal economic arrangements with the United States. The Indian delegates, however, pointed out that racial discrimination applied to immigration or other issues will not be tolerated and if it persists, will be met with counter-discrimination.

United States Relations with the Netherlands East Indies. During the last forty years the United States has shown increased interest in the Netherlands East Indies as evidenced by some two hundred million dollars of investments, large imports of rubber, tin, quinine and palm oil, and by cooperation in industrial research, social hygiene and agricultural development. The members of the Netherlands delegation look to a re-establishment of the Netherlands East Indies on a joint basis with Indonesians under the rule of their revered Queen. They anticipate a basis of full equality between the units of the Netherlands Kingdom. In their view, the destruction of relations between members of the Netherlands would be a step backward rather than forward. They look to the future for full cooperation with the United States and Australia, New Zealand, China, India and the whole world in order to attain security.

United States Relations with Fighting France. Reference was made to a declaration by the State Department in the

following words:

"The policy of the government of the United States as regards French territory has been based upon the maintenance of the integrity of France and of the French empire and the eventual restoration of complete independence of all French territories."

Commenting on the above statement, the Fighting French delegate interpreted it to mean that when the war is won, the first step will be restoration of the territories occupied to French sovereignty. Thus, France would have an equal right with, say, the United Kingdom, to discuss the future status of the dependent areas. The statement of the American government was not interpreted as being inconsistent with any developing United Nations policy respecting what are now colonial areas.

The round table then proceeded to take up subjects which had already been fully discussed in previous round tables.

VI. GROUP III TOPICAL ROUND TABLES

Group III was divided into four round tables according to the topic discussed: A, Social and Demographic; B, Economic; C, Political-Military Questions; D, Military-Political Problems. Two days, December 10 and 11, were allotted to this group for the discussion of general topics in relation to the specific problems already considered in the previous round tables.

A. Social and Demographic

This round table devoted itself to the examination of the broad and diversified problems related to the social well-being, the good life of the peoples of the Pacific. The discussions developed around the framework of paragraphs V and VI of the Atlantic Charter, the first referring to improved labor standards and economic security and the second to freedom from fear and want. There was at once a universal acceptance of the view that many of the common people of the world regard the war as something more than a war -- as a great upheaval out of which will come something much better than they have been accustomed to in the way of life.

The round table laid down the following basic principles as expressing the considered opinion of the members:

"The Round Table envisioned no perpetual feast for the peoples of the Orient, but there was a unanimous and humane recognition of the basic right of these people to a decent and dignified existence - a right they have never realized. It was recognized, too, that the continual denial of this existence to them will eventually have not merely political, social and economic importance but even material implications of a most serious nature."

The round table then went into the discussion of the means of attaining the above mentioned objective. There was a proposal for the industrialization of Asia, to raise the standard of living of the Oriental people, drawing

lessons from the experience of Japan. In other words, industrialization of the Pacific area should be properly controlled in order to assure that the product of industry which is not exported is devoted to increasing consumption at home, thereby assuring a higher standard of living. It was pointed out that one of the benefits of industrialization is the destruction of the twin evils in agricultural countries--landlordism and usury--by offering competition to the monopoly of land and labor and thereby weakening the hold of the landlord through higher wages and better social conditions.

The rapporteur eloquently expressed the sentiments of the round table in the following words:

"Schemes of international organization, regional or global, devices for polishing the world, economic associations or any international organizations, are only the means and not the ends. They are useful instruments only if those who employ them never lose sight of the real objective; the realization of the hopes if not the clamorous demands of the vast millions who struggle tragically to eke out a meager existence. The real objective must always be the good life for all of the people. International machinery will mean something to the common man in the Orient, as indeed to the common man throughout the world, only when it is translated into terms that he can understand; peace, bread, housing, clothing, education, good health, and above all, the right to walk with dignity on the world's great boulevards."

B. Economic

This round table started with a general discussion of Article VII of the Mutual Aid Agreement as

the most binding commitment by the two senior partners of the United Nations, the United States and Great Britain. This commitment is now shared by many of the United Nations. The article of the Mutual Aid Agreement, signed February 23, 1942, reads as follows:

"In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States of America by the government of the United Kingdom in return for aid furnished under the Act of Congress of March 11, 1941, the terms and conditions thereof shall be such as not to burden commerce between the two countries but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of worldwide economic relations. To that end, they shall include provision for agreed action by the United States of America and the United Kingdom, open to participation by all other countries of like mind, directed to the expansion by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples, to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers, and, in general, to the attainment of all the economic objectives set forth in the Joint Declaration made on August 12, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. At an early convenient date, conversations shall be begun between the two governments with a view to determining, in the light of governing economic conditions, the best means of attaining the above-stated objectives by their own agreed action and of seeking the agreed action of other like-minded Governments."

In the course of the discussion, some doubts were expressed about the attainment of the objectives of the above Agreement. These doubts were particularly from the small countries like Australia, Canada and New Zealand

who wanted to be assured that the United States and the United Kingdom really intended to carry out the commitment. These delegates wanted first an assurance of political security and then of economic stability, stating that every Pacific country has its Burma Road, its life-line that may be cut by a sudden attack and this is an important factor in considering future economic policies.

The delegates from Australia, for instance, frankly stated that if they could not rely upon precise and adequate guarantees of collective security, they would try to re-shape their economies so as to insure their own security no matter what it cost. Moreover, they pointed out that Australia is very much concerned with the prospect for its export products, stating that if they could not rely upon stable and adequate outlets, that they would be compelled to pursue self sufficient policies and to aim at the best living standards that they could secure by diversifying production within their own boundary.

American delegates, of course, could not give any assurances as they felt that they could not foresee accurately the trend of policy which the United States would likely follow in the future. They warned that the people of the United States, as distinct from the Administration, had not made up their minds on the domestic aspects of this question and it would not be safe for the other countries to rely upon indications or trends of public opinion. It

was pointed out that it would not be easy to foresee what form of new economic nationalism would take place. It could be restricted or it could be liberal and worldwide in scope.

C. Political and Military Questions

Two major questions were discussed in this round table: (1) political requirements for the development of a system of collective security in the Pacific are; and (2) the political problem arising over the restoration of territories now under the enemy.

On the first question, it was indicated that a Pacific Regional Council may be set up, subsidiary to a world-wide political authority. This Council may have three functions: (1) to establish the conditions of peace, (2) to resolve disputes, and (3) to exercise police power over the area.

It was suggested that the Council should be composed of the sovereign nations of China, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, France, The Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, with the Philippines joining only after it had achieved independence. In regard to the membership of the Philippines, a Philippine delegate pointed out that President Quezon now sits with the United Nations and is a member of the Pacific War Council. The Philippines should therefore be allowed membership in

this proposed Pacific Council even before achievement of her independence.

With respect to the establishment of the conditions of peace, the Council would be expected to see that Japan adheres to the terms of the armistice and to a subsequent peace treaty. It would moreover be expected to cope with the problem of immigration, trade, communication, the questions of minorities, fisheries, labor and social problems and other allied questions affecting the Pacific area as a whole.

In resolving disputes, the Council should not permit them to develop to a dangerous situation pending arbitration and provide for a system of controlling such disputes by adopting a process of hearing, appeal and final judgment.

In the exercise of the police power, the Council should be provided with an armed force which should be a part of a global force under world-wide organization. The armed force for the Pacific region, as for other regions, might wear the uniform of the United Nations, thus symbolizing the fact that their authority derives from the United Nations as a whole.

The question of political restoration of territories now under the Japanese was fully discussed in previous round tables.

With respect to Formosa, the Chinese delegates insisted that it should be returned to China without any conditions and that, if the United Nations should feel it

desirable to establish military, naval or air bases on this Island, the question should be a matter for negotiation with China.

In regard to Korea, the Canadian and English delegates were vocal in their advocates for its mandate by the United States to prepare that country for self-government perhaps along the lines of the preparation of the Philippines for independence.

As to the Japanese mandated islands, there was a strong feeling on the part of some Americans that this Island should be under some control or supervision of the United States. In any event, it was recognized that these islands should be under some world-wide control and authority, in view of their strategic positions in the Pacific area.

It was recognized that the Philippines will have its independence in 1946 and perhaps before that time. The round table took cognizance of the fact that President Roosevelt, in his message to the people of the Philippines before the fall of Bataan, pledged their independence, a step which the round table considered as assurance of American participation in the security for the Pacific area.

Regarding Netherland East Indies, the round table felt that Queen Wilhelmina's recent declaration for equal partnership of the various components of the Netherlands

Kingdom provide the foundation for self-government for the East Indies.

On the status of Outer Mongolia, it was believed that this would not present a serious problem. Chinese delegates stated that any questions respecting Outer Mongolia affecting Russia and China could be settled bilaterally between the two countries.

D. Military-Political Problems

This round table attempted to examine the situation that would develop as the war was being won. It was pointed out at the outset that as the areas under Japanese control are regained by the United Nations' military forces, the immediate problem was to provide for a local administration. The members felt that it would be advisable to utilize the local organizations already in operation, since the officials participating now in such local organizations in the occupied areas are not all Quislings but persons who have the best interests of their people at heart. At this instance, an Indian delegate stated that when Japanese invasion of India was imminent, the Indian Government worked out a plan for the withdrawal of all military and police forces from the invaded regions and for the continuation of civilian administration by local citizens who would carry on the local government as far as can be consistently affected with their obligation to their country.

The round table then took up the question of occupation of former Japanese colonies and of Japan proper.

It was generally thought that the knock-out blow would come from the air and not from an invasion of the Japanese islands. There was some opinion, as already indicated in previous round tables, that Tokio should be occupied by a United Nations force in which there should be units from all the countries of Asia.

The question of post-war armaments control received considerable discussion. It was felt that the victorious powers might get tired of enforcing them, pointing out the fact that any interest in control and inspection is at its height when it is least necessary, that is, right after the war. Moreover, it was feared that prolonged control would arouse strong reaction among the defeated peoples.

The round table also went into the question of the composition of the military force under world-wide authority and it was generally agreed that such a force should compose of all the military branches - the air, the sea, and the land forces. At this point, it was suggested that American cooperation could be obtained much easier if the United States would be asked to contribute an air or naval force rather than a land force for the reason that Americans, as a whole, are averse to sending their boys away from home. It was pointed out that at the end of this war there would be only three great powers: The United States, Great Britain and Russia and that the long

term problem would be to prevent the rise of a new major aggressive power. Russia would, in the round table's opinion, present the real problem particularly as respects Europe. A British delegate ventured the opinion that Britain would get along with the Soviets "if the kind of Europe they want is the same kind we want."

Finally, the round table discussed the establishment of a United Nations machinery and suggested that such machinery should at once be set into motion by the calling of a conference of representatives of the various United Nations to meet somewhere in the Western Hemisphere.

VII. FINAL SESSION AND BUSINESS MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE

On Sunday, December 13th, the Conference held its final plenary session. It was the most interesting session of the Conference. As the delegates reviewed the entire situation and took up the specific controversial questions affecting the Pacific area, they "opened up" and spoke their minds.

As in all round tables, the applicability of the Atlantic Charter to India and to dependent countries continued as the favorite subject of oratory. The fireworks were started by the Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Nash, with the statement that there should not be any doubt as to the applicability of the Atlantic Charter to the whole world, for to quote him, "Twenty-nine nations had already accepted its principles and had already signed the document." Mr. M. J.

Coldwell, member of the Canadian Parliament, accused the British delegates for their complacency and for taking a defensive position at the Conference. Moreover, he admonished the American delegates for contributing to the doubts by not giving the Conference a more categorical statement of American position. At this instance, Mr. Tyler Dennett, member of the American Delegation, rose and said that the people of the United States are a free people and should be free to go to the Conference with free hands, without any restraints from expressing their views.

Mr. A. C. Jones, Labor Member of the British Parliament, delivered a most impassioned speech in defense of the position taken by the British delegates at the Conference. He admitted that the British Delegation assumed a defensive position throughout the Conference but this was because they came to the Conference with a concrete program and suggestions, which in their opinion would contribute to the effort of the Conference in discussing the problems of war-time and post-war questions. Mr. Jones stated that in Great Britain, as in the United States, there are different views and sentiments on any vital question, but out of these conflicting views has come a trend of liberal thought on the relations of the dependencies with Great Britain. He emphasized the fact that not long ago, a liberal policy was adopted under the leadership of the liberal and the head of the British Delegation, Lord Hailey.

On this occasion, a Philippine speaker took the

opportunity of stating that the Philippines would soon join the Family of Nations, as a result of the benevolent and wise policy of the United States towards the Filipino people in the past forty-four years, during which period they went through the school for self-government. In that preparation, the Filipino people had utilized American history and experience as a guide in their struggle for freedom.

He then expressed his fervent hope that when all the international organizations that the Conference had been discussing shall have been organized and established, the Philippines will take its seat as a Republic. He closed his remarks with the expectation that before the Institute meets again, three years hence, the Japanese invaders will have been driven from Philippine shores, and that Manila may be then considered as among the prospective places for the next Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

At the business meeting of the Institute, the operations of the Institute since the last Conference were examined and reviewed. A preliminary report of the Secretariat was submitted, wherein the following reference to the Philippines appeared:

"Following the Virginia Beach Conference and the return to Manila of Dr. Osias and Mr. Federico Mangahas, the program of the Philippines Council was modestly expanded, but when the Japanese fury swept across the Commonwealth, few of the IPR members had the opportunity to escape. The Secretary-General requested President Quezon to arrange for Filipino representation at the Mont Tremblant Conference. The President asked Mr. Joaquin M. Elizalde, the Resident Commissioner, to lead the Filipino group at Mont Tremblant.

"Happily Mr. Elizalde had participated in smaller IPR Conferences formerly and was thus acquainted with the work of the Institute.

"In spite of the financial difficulties of the Filipino people, the full financial contribution to the Pacific Council for 1942 has been received from the Philippines."

"It is the hope of the Filipino leaders that when the enemy is driven out, the Philippine Council may enter a new period of intensive study of the economic and social problems of the Commonwealth as a whole to whatever program of international, economic and political collective effort issues from the United Nations war and post-war cooperation."

The financial report of the Institute showed that approximately \$100,000.00 is received annually as contributions from various sources for carrying out the activities of the Institute. The national councils contribute each year approximately twenty-five per cent or \$25,000.00 of the total funds available to the Institute. Of this, the Philippine National Council contributes \$500.00 per annum.

The present Governing Board of the Institute is composed of the following:

Australia	--	R.J.F. BOYER
Canada	--	EDGAR J. TARR
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Fighting France	--	PHILIPPE BAUDET
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Neth. Indies	--	G.H.C.HART
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VIII. COMMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS

As already stated, the Conference was attended by citizens of the various Pacific countries in their private capacity. The proceedings were informal and were essentially a means for the discussion of international affairs in an entirely unofficial way. Because of the war situation the Institute departed from its former practice of limiting Conference membership to private citizens by including members in governmental service from the various countries.

Under these circumstances, wherein delegates were confined in a winter resort, free from both the prying eyes and the anxious ears of the newspaper reporters and isolated from a curious public, the Conference was indeed in a favorable atmosphere to consider and discuss the problems of the Pacific without restraint, fear or favor. The delegates spoke their minds, made suggestions and offered criticisms freely and unhesitatingly.

UNITED KINGDOM - The United Kingdom were fully prepared for the task of the Conference. In the face of attacks and criticisms from all sides, they stood like the rock of Gibraltar. Lord Hailey's handling of the attacks hurled at the British was masterful. Here is an example of his defensive attacks: "If the peoples of India and Burma or of our dependencies seek today to pluck the fruit of the tree of liberty, let it be recalled that that tree was not native of their soil, it was we who

planted it there." Now and then the British delegates would agree to a more liberal colonial policy and even to hand over British colonies to an International Body if the United States would become an active member of that Body. Yet, with all their resourcefulness, eloquence and evident sincerity, many expressed grave doubts about British policy .

India is, of course, most vitally important to England's economic life. To quote Mr. Churchill, "Two out of every ten Englishmen depend on India." The safeguard of British economic interests in India and the income derived by the British people from that country are undoubtedly most important considerations in British policy toward India. Any solution to the Indian question must, therefore, provide some safeguard to Great Britain's interests in India.

On the matter of the dependencies, the British view may be summed up in the Rapporteurs report:

- "(1) That there has been an increasingly liberal tendency in British colonial policy and that the war has greatly intensified this trend (particularly as reflected in present British public opinion relative to colonies and colonial policy).
- "(2) That in the British view (which contains the hard realism which goes with long experience), there are stubborn and difficult problems which can only be overcome gradually if colonial peoples are to reach the stage that they can become genuinely self-governing bodies.
- "(3) There is a strong realization that in actual

fact, the British Empire has been the broadest and most basic force tending toward world stabilization (a real force which has demonstrated itself repeatedly), and that, if there had been no empire, the United Kingdom could not possibly have continued to exist in the face of German attack.

To the United Kingdom then, if there is to be a yielding of imperial authority, it must be on the basis of a certainty (or at least a decided probability) that the international organization which takes over this authority shall be sufficiently strong and capable to really carry the burden thus thrust upon it. This assurance is necessary because the very existence of the United Kingdom depends upon it.

"(4) The most fundamental consideration in this connection is the fear that the United States will pull out of any new international organization which is the equivalent of destroying its effectiveness. It is no accident that the recent elections in the United States, interpreted as indicating a strong isolationist sentiment, was followed by an increase in nationalist tendency in other parts of the world."

UNITED STATES - The American delegation, too, was subject to a continuous barrage for an expression of assurance or guarantee that the United States would take an active part in world affairs after the war. The experience of the past was cited again and again as a possible indication of the resurgence of nationalism in the United States. Fear and doubt were expressed that what the Executive Department may do now with respect to international cooperation would be undone later by a hostile Congress. Many delegates believe that the isolationist tendencies, while at present are

not as evident as before the war, are still strong in some quarters, as evidenced in the last election. However, in the viewsof some Americans, after the international organization has been established and has shown satisfactory results while the war is still in progress, Congress will not dare undo what the Executive Branch has already done in this respect.

American delegates stressed the difficulty in predicting the course of American policy and warned that the acid test is not necessarily to be found in Executive Acts but rather in treaties ratified by Congress, or in the continuance of a policy following a change of the party in power. While the American delegates felt that the Atlantic Charter is in harmony with the prevailing trend of American public opinion, there is no certainty that it is an assured statment of permanent American policy.

This Conference clearly showed that international cooperation and collaboration in the future will depend upon the policy which the United States will pursue. As a Canadian delegate remarked, "the United States has the key and there isn't any key." It is very interesting to note the tactics of the delegates of the two major powers. While the British delegates endeavored at every opportunity to commit the United States to take mandates over Korea and the Japanese mandated islands, the American delegates in turn tried to secure from the British assurance of immediate settlement of the Indian question and self-government for the dependencies and threatened that America

would not be a party to any international organization to perpetuate British imperialism.

The American said to the British: "The burden is on you - if you want our help, say what you want to do - if it meets with our approval we will probably do much to help - if not, we won't."

INDIA - The Indian delegation was composed of many prominent Indians who are holding high positions in the Indian Government. One notable criticism of the Indian delegation was the fact that it did not include any representative of the Congress party, the largest and the most influential party in India. The Indian delegates, as a whole, were not antagonistic to the British, although all of them had independent opinions and agreed in desiring a definite settlement of the Indian problem. They all said that the Indian people are anxious to do their part in the war effort and pointed to the fact that today India has 1,500,000 soldiers on the fighting fronts, although it was admitted that this army is in its bulk professional.

The consensus of sentiment of the Indian Delegation on the question of British-Indian relations is expressed in the following words of Mr. Kharma, leader of the Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party in the Legislative Assembly of the N. W. Frontier Province:

"The real truth is that in spite of sweet words a deep distrust still surrounds the horizon. At this critical hour, Britain's duty is simple and straightforward. If she really means that Indians should fight the Axis Powers with all

her strength, there must be a clear declaration as regards the free status of India after the war, without any reference whatsoever to the mischievous possibility of breaking India into fragments. As regards the present, the National Government should be so constituted as to function in close collaboration with Great Britain and the Allied Powers during the War. The call should go forth to all the political parties to help in the formation of such a Government which must be trusted and given complete authority to administer Indian affairs according to India's needs. There may be sections here and there who may not come forward to join such a scheme. But there is not the least doubt that such a proposal will be welcomed by the people at large, and those who will soon disappear into the limbo of oblivion as persons who failed to play the game when their country was in dire need of their loyal and devoted service. Real transfer of power and mutual trust, these are the needs of the hour, if India is to fight and win a total war. Will Britain respond even at this late hour?"

CHINA. The Chinese delegation was one of the largest at the Conference. The Chinese took active part in the discussions and, in some instance, assumed aggressive tendencies. For instance, they demanded the return of Formosa without any strings attached and insisted upon liberal treatment of Chinese nationals in foreign countries, particularly in Southeast Asia. At the same time they wanted capital and the transfer of Japanese heavy industries to China.

China's position toward Southeast Asia was summed up by Mr. Chow, member of the People's Political Council as follows:

"As a matter of general principle, China simply stands for an early ending of the imperialism of the old order in this region. As far as her interests are concerned, China will

see to it that in the post-war settlement, special consideration be given to (1) peace and security of her southern frontiers, (2) security of land passages to the South Seas, (3) protection of the economic interests as well as minorities rights of the Chinese resident in the region."

Chinese delegates insisted that China cherished no design on territorial expansion beyond her original frontiers and referred to the following declaration by the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek on this point:

"We have been fighting this war or resistance with purity of motive and consistency of principle - not for any selfish purpose but for the salvation of the world through first saving ourselves. Towards Asia as towards the whole world we wish only to do our duty to the exclusion of any lust for power or other desires incompatible with the moral dictates of love and benevolence that are characteristic of the Chinese national spirit. The aim of the Revolution is, so far as the interests of China herself are concerned, the restoration of her original frontiers and, in regard to the rest of the world, a gradual advance of all nations from the stage of equality to that of an ideal unity."

One notable impression gathered in the Conference was the ill-concealed fear felt by the delegates of the rise in the Far East of an imperialist China that would supplant Japan and would be much more dangerous by reason of her tremendous population and superior resources. And, in spite of their repeated protestations and arguments disproving such a political development, it might be commented that the conduct of the Chinese delegation was not conducive to dispel such fears. Well aware of their strategic importance in the Pacific

conflict, militarily and politically, the Chinese members suavely but firmly alternated requests for assistance and equal representation in the conduct of the war with suggestions of being forced to drop out of the struggle. Time and again the statement was made that "we will never make peace with Japan," coupled with the qualifying "buts" that "we cannot go on forever fighting with our bare hands," that the Chinese soldier is only made of "flesh and bone, not iron." To the charges that China would develop into an imperialist power, the Chinese delegates repeatedly emphasized that by reason of temperament, education and religion, China would never develop into a military imperialist power.

Another impression obtained, too, is that there is lacking a clear agreement between China and Great Britain as to how to dispose of some of the latter's possessions in China, particularly Hongkong. While it was evident that China expected to be returned Hongkong and every other possession, although she was willing to negotiate with Great Britain about military bases for her in the China Coast, it was also evident, if the United Kingdom delegates in any way reflected their country's thought on the subject, that Great Britain was not disposed to return Hongkong if she could help it. Which fact suggests the idea that differences of this nature between the United Nations, unless threshed out during the unifying

comradeship in arms, might lead to conflict at the end of the war.

NETHERLANDS. The Dutch-Javanese delegation was, since the beginning, the object of close observation. At first the members of the delegation were very inarticulate, saying very little indeed. However, they assumed a more aggressive attitude after the radio address of Queen Wilhelmina announcing the plan of equal partnership of all the components of the Netherlands Kingdom. By using the Javanese delegates as their spokesmen at the Conference, they tried to create the impression that the Dutch really treated their colonies without discrimination or prejudice.

It was quite evident to all that the real motivating power behind the delegation was Mr. Hart, who has had considerable experience in international conventions. Explaining Queen Wilhelmina's plan for equal partnership between the Netherlands and the colonies, Mr. Hart said:

"What the Indies desired was not a separation from the Netherlands, but the formal recognition that in a joint realm they should manage their own affairs as they had recently been doing, combined on the one hand with a more adequate ballot system and higher form of responsible government, and on the other hand with a more satisfactory, i. e., completely equal, share in the conduct of the general affairs of the realm; full partnership in fact, no more and no less. It is in the light of these aspirations, often and unequivocally expressed by the great majority in the People's Council of the Indies, that one should read the several pronouncements which the Queen of the

Netherlands, fully conversant with these desires, has recently made on future relations of partnership and on the plans for a conference to be convened by her immediately after the liberation of the oppressed territories, when Hollanders and Indonesians will once more be able to express in freedom their desires and opinions on their future status and will be able to prepare the arrangement of their future constitutional relations."

One Philippine delegate had the opportunity of seeing a telegram sent by Governor General Van Mook to Mr. Hart, wherein the scope of the proposed concessions contained in the speech of Queen Wilhelmina was amplified. The telegram stated in effect that under the plan the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies "probably would have reduced powers." Consequently, despite the apparent liberal tone of Queen Wilhelmina's address, some doubt can be entertained as to whether the Dutch objectives for the East Indies will in practice be as liberal as announced.

MALAYAN CONFEDERATION. One of the subjects which aroused considerable interest at the Conference was the proposal for the creation of a new Indonesian state. The plan was discussed in the "Fortune" magazine of August, 1942, in which it was advocated that a new state should be established in the Indonesian area, consisting of Thailand, British Malaya, all the British and Dutch islands in Indonesia, and Portuguese Timor. The proposed new state will have an area of 1,100,000 square miles and a population of ninety million.

A similar proposal was also suggested by one of the delegates, Mr. Bruno Lasker, in a paper distributed to the delegates. The proposal, however, did not receive support at the Conference. On the contrary, the plan was strongly opposed not only by the Dutch-Javanese delegates but by the English, Chinese, Fighting French and Siamese delegates on the ground that there was no practical basis for such a confederation.

The opposition views were eloquently expressed by Mr. Hart of the Dutch-Javanese delegation as follows:

"The advantages of such an incorporation would have to be extremely evident both for the Indonesian population and for the world at large, if they are to offset the advantages of a development as presented above.

"Does such an incorporation offer real advantages? The reply should be emphatically in the negative. Fundamentally, there is little in common between the Netherlands Indies and any of the other parts of Southeast Asia. Such meager affinities as do exist are with the Philippines and Malaya, the only countries with an original Indonesian population. In Malaya, large-scale Chinese and Indian immigration has diluted the aboriginal Indonesian population to a bare 45% of the total inhabitants (98% in the Netherlands Indies).

"In the Netherlands Indies the Dutch found old and highly developed civilization and languages, besides social and political systems to which the people were and are devotedly attached. Both from conviction and from necessity, these were respected through the ages.

"In the Philippines, however, the Spaniards arrived before languages and civilization had reached high levels. The Spaniards imposed upon the inhabitants their religion and culture and -- in the higher classes -- even their

language. Therefore, when the Americans took over, they found a situation which considerably facilitated the introduction of a uniform education in a foreign language, i.e., English. Consequently, there is between the Netherlands Indies, Malaya and the Philippines only a certain affinity of race, but there the connections end, except that the Malay language, even though it is in rather divergent dialects, is used both in Malaya and in many parts of the Indies.

"With the other territories which are sometimes associated with such amalgamation schemes, there are neither racial, religious nor cultural ties. In passing, it may be noted that such affinities do not appear to exist between the other territories either, if one excludes, perhaps, certain similarities between upper Thailand and upper Indo-China.

"There is not and there never has been a state, nation, country or federation called "Malaysia," any more than there is or has been an "Atlantis."

"As far as can be ascertained by those who intimately know all the countries involved, none of the peoples living there has ever given the suggested union a single serious thought. There would be violent opposition to it in practically all the territories. For the Netherlands Indies, one even dares to speak with conviction. The racial connections between the several countries are much weaker than those between Germany and Scandinavia, Holland and England. There is no similarity in the languages, barring what has been mentioned above. The Philippines are mostly Roman Catholic; the Indonesians in the Netherlands Indies and the Malays in Malaya are Moslem; Indo-China and Thailand are Buddhist."

CANADA, AUSTRALIA, AND NEW ZEALAND. The most vocal delegates, in so far as criticisms and frankness were concerned, were those from Canada, Australia and New Zealand. They supplied most of the fireworks of

the Conference and went after both the Britishers and the Americans ruthlessly, so to speak. A member of the State Department accurately observed the attitude of these delegates when he said that from these small western democracies came the fears and doubts as to the future actions of Great Britain and the United States. These three members of the British Commonwealth of Nations were most aggressive in their demands for political security and economic guarantee.

PHILIPPINES. Realizing the strength of the Philippine position, which even Lord Hailey referred to as an "exceptional experience" in colonial policy, the members of the Philippine delegation took part in the discussions only when the Philippines was mentioned or directly affected. In the round tables and in private conversations, the delegates of the Conference recognized the magnificent success of American-Philippine relationship as proven by the Epic of Bataan and the stand on Corregidor. Time and again delegates congratulated us for the resistance we put up against the enemy and the patriotism and loyalty of the people of the Philippines to the United States, as symbolized by their leader and President, Manuel L. Quezon.

Notwithstanding our reticence in over playing Philippine accomplishments and achievements, we had many opportunities to participate in the discussions, explaining

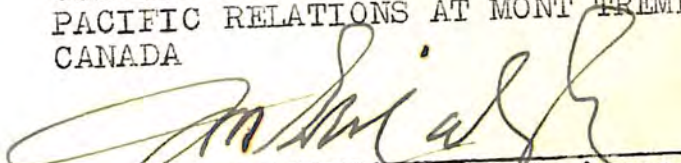
and elaborating references to Philippine progress and achievements.

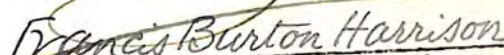
The Philippine delegation has brought from the Conference for the Office of the President copies of the pamphlets, documents and other literature that were distributed to the delegates.

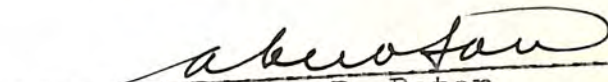
In closing, we take the opportunity of expressing to you, Mr. President, our heartfelt appreciation for giving us the privilege of participating in this interesting and instructive Conference.

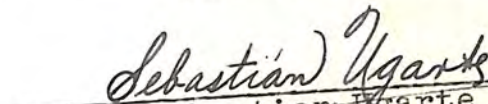
Respectfully submitted,

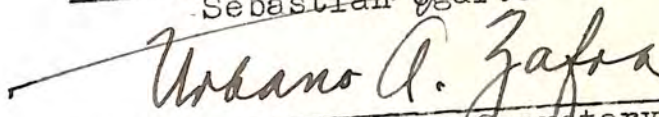
THE PHILIPPINE DELEGATION TO THE
CONFERENCE OF THE INSTITUTE OF
PACIFIC RELATIONS AT MONT TREMBLANT,
CANADA


J. M. Elizalde, Chairman


Francis Burton Harrison


Arturo B. Rotor


Sebastian Ugarte


Urbano A. Zafra, Secretary

APPENDIX A
THE DEVELOPMENT OF
PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN RELATIONS

JOAQUIN M. ELIZALDE

Resident Commissioner of The Philippines to
the United States

A MEMORANDUM

SUBMITTED TO THE EIGHTH CONFERENCE

International Secretariat
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

The problems of the Pacific are multiple and many-sided. They are of very great importance, not only to the peoples directly affected, but to the general peace and welfare of the world. Though they do not, perhaps, affect us all alike, all are of general concern. We of the Philippines welcome this opportunity of presenting a brief resume of our successful relations with the United States of America which will reach fulfillment in the establishment of the Philippine Republic not later than July 4, 1946.

It is to be noted that the relations which started with a war between us in 1899 are drawing to an end in another war in which we have fought shoulder to shoulder this year in the defense of the same ideals in the epic Battle of the Philippines.

How could a bond between two peoples starting as enemies be welded so solidly in so short a period of time? It was chiefly because the aims of the American Government were always generous and liberal. The beauty of those relations has always been the honest approach of both sides when seeking the solution of problems that confronted us. This brought about increasing faith in the American Government, as gradually the Filipinos became convinced that the United States was not taking root to exploit them but rather to benefit and to assist them.

Of course the American forces did not upon the occupation find a country undeveloped either politically or economi-

cally. In fact, I cannot do better than to quote here extracts from a most eloquent sermon recently given in Washington by the Reverend Robert I. Gannon, President of Fordham University. Referring to the education and development of the Philippines when the Americans arrived, he said in part:

"Their civilization was not an Oriental civilization. It was Western civilization, and this they had to a remarkable degree long before Admiral Dewey sailed into Manila Bay -- so that the Americans had only to build on a strong basis of understanding which was well established centuries before they came."

He said further:

"It is natural that we have always thought of the Philippines as an outpost of Western Civilization. It was as a Christian people, therefore, rather than as mere Allies of the United States that they sprang to arms spontaneously when Japan attacked. It was because they loved everything that we loved, and hated what the Japanese admired, that they fought and died as heroes in the foxholes of Bataan."

This basic Christian civilization which the United States found there had, like that of the countries of Latin America, the imprint of hundreds of years of contact with Spain. It also closely associated us with the Western Hemisphere.

The development of Philippine-American relations can, to some extent, be simplified by following the declarations made at different stages of our relationship during the past four decades. President McKinley in the year 1900 established the second Philippine Commission, and I quote a pertinent portion of his instructions:

"In all the forms of Government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the Commission should bear in mind

that the Government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands."

President Taft in the year 1901 set the stage for the orderly processes of development in self-government which may be said to have lasted from the inauguration of the civil government, in July 1901, until the dawn of the new era coincident with the administration of President Woodrow Wilson. President Taft inaugurated the era of peaceful cooperation between Americans and Filipinos. He affirmed McKinley's fundamental policy and made it popular by the adoption of the slogan: "The Philippines for the Filipinos."

Following the election, in 1912, to the Presidency of the United States of Woodrow Wilson, the Filipinos were given control of the Philippine Commission. In explaining his action, President Wilson:

"I believe that in this way we shall make proof of their capacity in counsel and their sense of responsibility in the exercise of political power, and that the success of this step will be sure to clear our view for the steps which are to follow. Step by step we should extend and perfect the system of self-government in the Islands, making test of them and modifying them as experience discloses their successes and their failures; so that we should more and more put under the control of the native citizens of the archipelago the essential instruments of their life, their local instrumentalities of government, their schools, all the common interest of their communities, and so by counsel and experience set up a government which all the world will see to be suitable to a people whose affairs are under their own control."

In 1913, upon his arrival in Manila, the new Governor-General sent out by Mr. Wilson, the Honorable Francis Burton Harrison, delivered to the Filipino people the following message from the President:

"We regard ourselves as trustees, acting not for the advantage of the United States, but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands.

"Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the Islands and as a preparation for that independence. And we hope to move toward that end as rapidly as the safety and permanent interests of the Islands will permit. After each step taken experience will guide us to the next.

"The administration will take one step at once, and will give the native citizens of the Islands a majority in the appointive Commission, and thus in the upper as well as in the lower house of the legislature a majority representation will be secured to them."

With the control by the Filipinos of the two branches of the legislature, the Government evolved from a government by Americans assisted by Filipinos into a government by Filipinos assisted by Americans.

In 1916, with the passage of the Philippine Autonomy Act, popularly known as the Jones Law, another and more decisive step was taken in the direction of self-government. The purpose of the measure, as explained in its preamble, was "to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise

of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence." I quote the preamble of the Jones Law:

"An Act to declare the purpose of the People of the United States as to the future political status of the People of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those Islands;

"Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipience of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest for territorial aggrandizement; and

"Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the People of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

"Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence."

On March 23, 1935, in the cabinet room of the White House were gathered leading officials of the Philippine and American Governments. Before affixing his signature, President Roosevelt remarked to President Quezon: "This is a great day, and this is a great historical document." After signing, he read the following message:

"I am happy to state that the Constitution submitted to me on behalf of the Philippine Constitutional Convention for certification under the Tydings-McDuffie conforms with the provisions of the Act.

"The members of the Convention are to be congratulated on the satisfactory completion of a task of importance and significance in the life of their people.

"In the event of ratification of this Constitution, the authority granted to the Commonwealth Government will permit the exercise by the Filipino people of general control, subject only to a few important exceptions, of their local affairs.

"During the period of the Commonwealth, there will remain with the Government of the United States authority commensurate with and necessary for or appropriate to the ultimate responsibility of sovereignty.

"Animated solely by feelings of cordiality, sympathy and loyalty, the people of the United States and the people of the Philippines have been conducting together an experiment, and during the period of the Commonwealth Government, this experiment will continue until the ultimate withdrawal of the United States sovereignty and the establishment of complete independence."

But the most important of all the public statements made and the one that has touched the heart of all the people of the Philippines is the message of President Roosevelt transmitted by short-wave on December 28, 1941, to President Quezon during the siege of Corregidor. Sent at a time when our troops and our people were fighting a desperate and losing battle, this message is sealed with the blood of the men who died for the cause of freedom. I quote in full this proclamation:

"To the people of the Philippines:

"News of your gallant struggle against the Japanese aggressors has elicited the profound admiration of every American. As President of the United States, I know that I speak for all our people on this solemn occasion. The resources of the

United States, of the British Empire, of the Netherlands East Indies and the Chinese Republic, have been dedicated by their people to the utter and complete defeat of the Japanese war lords. In this great struggle of the Pacific, the loyal Americans of the Philippine Islands are called upon to play a crucial role. They have played and they are playing tonight their part with the greatest gallantry. As President, I wish to express to them my feeling of sincere admiration for the fight they are now making. The people of the United States will never forget what the people of the Philippine Islands are doing these days and will do in the days to come. I give to the people of the Philippines my solemn pledge that their freedom will be redeemed and their independence established and protected. The entire resources in men and materials of the United States stand behind that pledge. It is not for me or for the people of this country to tell you where your duty lies. We are engaged in a great common cause. I count on every Philippine man, woman and child to do his duty. We will do ours."

A review of Philippine-American relations thus discloses that the provisions of the Atlantic Charter, only recently set forth as the torch of hope for the peoples of the world, were in effect established in the Philippines long ago, and its objectives were followed there practically from the very first day that America set foot in the Philippines. The fundamental objectives of the Atlantic Charter have been in operation in the Philippines throughout the whole forty-five years of American occupation.

As I said before, the Independence Act passed in 1934 provides for the absolute and complete independence of the Philippines not later than July 4th, 1946. When the present war started, we were in the process of an economic adjustment intended to prepare us for the time when our preferential trade status with the United States would cease,

and our foreign commerce would become more extended.

With the occupation of our country, all these plans were disrupted. We have been fortunate, however, in one point, and that is that Providence made possible the departure of President Quezon and his War Cabinet from the Philippines, thus permitting establishment of his Government in the United States to carry on the functions of our Government from Washington. Its most important duty today, however, is to continue the fight and to assure the prompt liberation of our country from the hands of the invader, at the earliest practicable time.

When this has been attained and our liberty established, our Government will cooperate with other peoples of the world, and particularly with the peoples of the Pacific, in the support of measures upon which future world relations must be founded.

We expect, therefore, to take full part in such councils as may be held to attain this purpose and expect also our country's representation will be commensurate both with our status and with our contribution to this world struggle.